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The Growth and Influence of American Liberty.



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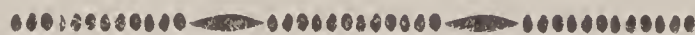


Delivered before the Stamina Republican League at Cincinnati, O.,

November 28, 1903, by

Will Cumback, of Greensburg, Indiana.

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THE GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF
THE STAMINA REPUBLICAN LEAGUE :

The new century inherited a great estate from its predecessor. It is made rich by the unparalleled progress in every department of human affairs, and the wider dissemination of knowledge. Countless inventions and discoveries have lightened the burden of toil, and made welcome additions to the comforts and joys of living.

To even mention all these without comment would be tedious and beyond the limits of the time allotted. Well may we boast of what has been accomplished and take pride in what has come to us. They are all a promise and a prophecy of greater things to come in the near future. Our hope and our faith is, that the present light will be dim and shadowy when compared with the brilliant glow that will come in the next hundred years. It makes us cling closer to life, and intensifies our desire to live longer that we may see more and more of the triumphs of human genius and energy that manifestly are sure to come.

But the greatest result, and about which we boast the least, is, that the individual man, with all the significance of human existence, is coming to be recognized. But for this our boasting would be in vain. Man must be the focal point for all this modern light, or it is no better than darkness.

One of our poets has written :

“What care I for cast or creed?
It is the deed: it is the deed.
What for class or what for clan?
It is the man: it is the man.
Heirs of love and joy and woe,
Who is high, and who is low?
Mountain, valley, sky and sea,
Are all for humanity.

“What care I for robe or stole?
It is the soul. it is the soul.
What for crown or what for crest?
It is the heart within the breast.
It is the faith, it is the hope,
It is the struggle up the slope,
It is the brain and heart to see
One God and one humanity.”

We are compelled to admit that the moral, mental, social and spiritual development of the human race has not kept pace with the material progress. The common man is far in the rear of the stupendous visible apparatus of civilization. The increase of wealth ought always to

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add to the stock of human happiness ; and it would, if it were attended, and if it brought to its possessor integrity, intelligence and generosity. Avarice, meanness, ignorance, dishonesty and oppression are too often the mangy curs that go along with riches. So that we have the ludicrous spectacle of one-story men living in four-story houses. The history of the race reveals the painful fact that the common man has been the victim of greed and oppression of other men, who have asserted and maintained the preposterous claim that they had the right to rule him and compel his service.

They have denied him the blessings of education, surrounding him with the fogs of superstition, cunningly instilling into his darkened understanding mysterious creeds and dogmas, the purposes of which were to strengthen their right to rule and control him. They have taxed the very sweat of his brow, and stolen his hard earned wages under the false pretenses thus created.

They have marched him off to the field of blood and carnage and death, to fight for something in which he had no interest to gratify the greed or ambition of his oppressor.

They have made him believe that they rule by divine right and terrorized his ignorant and benighted soul with the colossal falsehood that to resist them was to fight God. That submission to the oppressor was the way to escape the penalty of the oppressor's law in this life, and everlasting punishment in the life to come. This was the condition of the human race for centuries. The world was a vast desert of oppression, with here and there a green spot—an oasis of partial freedom. If any man claimed to assert his manhood—made the bold pretense to own himself—to think for himself, and dared to utter his dissent to the existing order of things the rack, or the gibbet, or the fagot became his portion. He has been compelled to accept somebody's creed, and worship the kind of God that another had created for him, and pay heavily for the privilege. He was not consulted as to the amount of taxes he should pay ; and when his money was taken from him, he had no voice in its expenditure. In short he was a serf and a slave, without hope for himself or his children. And this is the deplorable condition of the great mass of the human race to-day. If the colors on the map of the world were selected to exhibit the exact status of humanity, the blackness of injustice, cruelty and oppression would give painful uniformity to the picture.

The heart of the sincere philanthropist sickens as he beholds it, and the soul of the true Christian is moved to more earnest prayer for more than finite power, that he may be more effectual in dispelling the clouds of ignorance and superstition that surround his fellow-men, that he might lift up his down-trodden brother and cause him to see, and know, his own worth as a man.

But the picture is not all dark. It was lighted a few centuries ago when some bold spirits believed it better to come to this new land inhabited by barbarians than longer live under the oppression of their native

land. Along our eastern coast line they lit the fires of human liberty, behind was the dark back ground of barbarism. But year by year the fire grew brighter and drove back the darkness. The savages of the forest tried to extinguish it and failed. The flame grew brighter and more extended. Then Great Britian with her mighty armies and powerful navies came to re-enforce the savage. But the time had fully come for man to govern himself, and England had to flee across the Atlantic beaten and disgraced.

The declaration of that self-evident truth that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, so strengthened the arms and stimulated the hearts of the men of 1776, that they could not be conquered. The immortal words of Patrick Henry, "Give us liberty or give us death," expresses the stern purpose of every loyal American. "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just" was verified by the men who followed Washington in that great struggle for their own rights and that of their children. Yea, more incomparably more. They were unconsciously fighting the battles for oppressed humanity for all time to come. Their victory meant the overthrow of monarchy some time in the future wherever civilization had a sufficient foot-hold; their defeat, the almost hopeless continuation of despotism.

It was the grand initial movement for the redemption and elevation of man. Their swords were drawn, not to widen the area of imperial power, not for the mere glory of conquest, but to maintain the right to govern themselves without the intervention of a foreign king, and in resistance to the power of parliament to tax them without representation.

The contest was long, and often the result seemed doubtful. But it was a propitious time for the feeble colonies. If their opposers had had the benefit of a submarine telegraph to daily tell the tale of their poverty and expose their times of weakness and depression, and in addition, had the aid of the swift steamships of the present time, they might have struck a blow that would have postponed the victory for a century. Had George III not been an imbecile, sometimes sane and sometimes crazy, there might have been concessions made, and compromises offered, as to have saved England the disgrace of entire defeat, and tonight, instead of chanting the praise of George Washington and his fellow patriots, we might be joining the Canadians in singing "God save the King."

At the end of the great struggle the colonists were over-burdened with debt, and distracted with divisions as to the kinds of government they would adopt, and for a time it seemed very doubtful notwithstanding the blood and treasure that had been expended, whether a free government could be established, whether the temple of liberty for which they had sacrificed so much could be continued. But the patriotic self sacrifice which had made the Revolution a success, controlled the men of the times, and the foundations of a free government were laid.

The experiment to establish a permanent union of the States was found to be a failure. The Articles of Confederation was a mere rope of

sand. There was no national life or power in it. But the men of '76 knew what they wanted. They called a convention of the representatives of the people. The weakness of their first attempt was a guide to better things. In that convention they formed our constitution, and declared their purpose in the preamble. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

This tells the story. It is for the purpose set forth in the preamble that they had pledged their "lives and sacred honor" in the Declaration of Independence. The Constitution, as it says, was the creation of the people and not of the States. It was made as Lincoln said, for "A government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Until it was adopted there was no perfect union, no assurance of domestic tranquility, no power to provide for the common defence, or promote the general welfare and as a sequence the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity could not be assured. The Constitution secured it all. It gave them all they had fought for. In it were garnered the precious treasures of the victorious battle fields of the revolution and was a fitting climax of this great struggle for human rights. Liberty was now a fixed fact. It had existed in the hearts of the Pilgrim Fathers and had grown and developed ever since their landing on the shores of the Atlantic. It had nerved them in the great and memorable contest of the Revolution. It had given them the victory. And now that the temple of civil and religious liberty was builded on the solid rock of the Constitution, they realized a sense of safety and security.

The United States became a nation, and took her place as a distinct and separate government. She had the admiration and sympathy of the oppressed everywhere, and the jeers and scorn of their oppressors. That she was promptly recognized as a nation by the monarchies of the old world, was not because of their love for a free people, but rather of their hatred of their old enemy who had been defeated by the brave men of the Revolution. While the other nations were settling their quarrels, our young nation had time for the wounds of the Revolution to heal, and the dissensions growing out of the adoption of the Constitution to disappear, and the United States began to be so rugged and strong as to compel the respect of other powers.

The rapid increase in wealth and population, and the adjustment of the national debt under the able management of the greatest of financiers, Alexander Hamilton, gave new hope and vigor to the national life. What there was of the new nation had been created by these hardy pioneers. There was no overthrown dynasty to breed dissention. No barons or lords had been displaced. No old families with imaginary blue blood in their veins to point the finger of scorn at the common man. They commenced their life in this new land on the same equal footing, equal in poverty, equal in courage and hope, animated with the same purpose, bound together with

the common sympathy produced by encountering like difficulties, and requiring similar sacrifices. Among them were no castes. The only aristocracy was that of personal merit.

Their education, experience and environments, produced the highest type of manhood, and the very best material to make the experiment of self-government. And in addition they were of that noble race, that will doubtless give language, literature and legislation, to the civilized world—the peerless Anglo Saxon.

Where in all the history of the races of men can be found another than our race, who would have had the courage, patience and endurance to have fought on for years until they had the victory. Where can another be found who would have had the clear conception of what was involved in the great contest? What other would have had the virtue and intelligence to meet and master all the conflicting interests and create such a constitution and establish such a government?

So it appears that the experiment of self-government was commenced at the right time and place and by the only race that could have succeeded. And it is a success. All the prophets of evil have been confounded. And as its influence widens and deepens as the years come and go, it will be recorded by all faithful historians as the ushering in of a new civilization.

That our fathers had their doubts and fears we are well assured. Absolute toleration in religion, universal suffrage, committing all power to the governed, and the entire separation of church and state, were new and radical experiments and could but fill the souls of the wisest and best with serious apprehension. There was no assuring precedent of safety. But knowing their purposes were right, and having faith in God, and hope for humanity, they made the venture.

We know now that they “builted wiser than they knew.” Could they have lifted the veil, and peered into the future, and have seen the success of their experiment, they might have had a fuller and broader conception of what they had done. A great English writer in speaking of the men who formed our constitution said “they were wiser than Justinian, who came before them, or Napoleon who came after them.”

It is a document that can be read in thirty minutes, yet it makes provision for the administrative, legislative and judicial departments of the government, and fixes the boundaries clearly and definitely. It provides for the regulation of commerce both foreign and domestic. It makes provision for, and regulates the currency of the nation. It provides for copyright and patents and regulates taxation to meet all the expenses of all these departments, including the army and the navy. It defines what the general government may do, and what rights are reserved exclusively to the several states. It guards with jealous care the primordial rights of the humblest citizen, and leaves all sovereign power in the hands of the people. It is short, clear and concise.

As it required concessions and compromises to secure its adoption, the changed conditions, and the larger and wider conception of human

rights made it necessary to add amendments to broaden its scope to better meet the new order of things.

The adoption of the Constitution and the organization of the colonies into a national government, fixes the date of our national birth, yet American liberty existed before that period. It may be truly asserted that American liberty was born when the Pilgrim fathers landed on the barren shores of New England.

The constitution is the child of liberty and not the parent. And yet as the centuries come and go in the future, the great event of the organization of the government and its subsequent influence on the other nations of the earth, and its great power in the elevation of man, will shine with such increasing lustre and brightness that the smaller events leading to that point, will have less and less significance, and in a century hence the adoption of the constitution will doubtless be regarded as the date of the birth of American liberty.

It required one hundred and fifty years to thoroughly prepare the Puritan for the great work of self-government. He was brave and loved liberty more than life, yet his conception of human rights was narrow. Strange to say, he was often intolerant, and in religion was afflicted with bigotry. As our own great historian, Ridpath, says, "Dissenters themselves they could not tolerate dissent in others. The horrid persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts, the expulsion of Roger Williams and the Salem witchcraft are some of the fruits of their superstition. They all declare the fact that they were only in the primary department of the school of human liberty. But the constant assault on their homes and lives by the savage barbarian behind them, and the repeated attack on their rights by the Parliament of the mother country before them, were the purifying fires that brought forth the fine gold of a broader and deeper conception of civil and religious liberty.

A common danger produced a common faith in God and humanity. As the only interest the British government had in the colonies was to devise means to rob them, it constantly developed among the Puritans the ability of self preservation, and created a desire for a closer and a stronger union. These momentous questions not only crowded out intolerance and bigotry, but it educated them in the science of self-government, and equipped them thoroughly for the great declaration they proclaimed in 1776. It is a fearful commentary on the degrading effect of despotism on the race, that it thus required the dreadful scourges of want and war through several generations to bring our fathers to a full appreciation of their own manhood and to enable them to have a better and more complete conception of their individual rights.

This is the faithful and truthful testimony of the historian. When we seriously consider it, such conclusions add incomparably to the value, as well as to the cost of human liberty. It is well that we should do so. It fans into a brighter flame the fires of our patriotic zeal, and creates a newer, deeper and more self-sacrificing devotion to our country's best welfare. It

re-enforces our courage to stand for the right and resist the wrong. It fills the soul of the true American with the uplifting ambition to be a worthy recipient of this inestimable boon, and strengthens his heart with the heroic purpose to battle to the death against any force that threatens the perpetuity of our free institutions. Having made this rapid and only partial statement of the growth of liberty in the colonial times, down to and including the formation of the Constitution, we may now take into consideration the advancement made since that time.

The cupidity of the British slave trade had fastened on some of the colonists the curse of human bondage. This great evil had to be recognized in order to form a union of all the states and secure the adoption of the Constitution. It is due to the liberty-loving masses of those times to say, that they greatly deplored the necessity. Thomas Jefferson, that great apostle of human liberty, said, when speaking of slavery, that he trembled when he remembered that God was just, and some time the alarm would come like a fire-bell in the night. The institution of slavery was not defended. It was simply tolerated as one of the evils that the avarice of England had fastened on the colonies. Its incongruity in a free government was universally conceded. It was expected in some way, that the prevailing sentiment against it would cause it to be short lived.

And no doubt but their hopes would have been realized, and the great civil war would have had no place in our history, had not Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin. The date of the invention was 1792, and in that year our export of cotton was less than two hundred thousand pounds. The use of the cotton gin so increased the production that in 1803, eleven years later, our export was forty-one million pounds. This greatly increased the value of slave labor. Fortunes were rapidly made out of the sweat and toil of the unpaid barbarian imported from Africa. Greed and gain paralyzed the conscience of the participants of the profits of slave labor. The mercenary spirit overpowered the moral sense, and corrupted the religion and politics of the nation. Statesmen came forward as the defenders of slavery, and even the Doctors of Divinity claimed to find that the bible taught that slavery was a Divine institution.

No discussion of the right of one man to own another man, and sell him as property, was permitted in the slave states. The pulpit and the press were muzzled so that the domination of the slaveholder was complete wherever slavery existed—enslaving both the black and the white man who opposed the wrong. Not content with mere local control, it claimed to dictate the policy of the government. It selected presidents and cabinets, and nominated and confirmed only such members of the supreme court as would do its bidding. It had complete control of the patronage of the nation, and none but the worshipers at the shrine of human bondage could have the honors or participate in the emoluments of office.

The offensive aggressiveness of slavery produced a constant agitation and a stubborn and determined resistance to its extraordinary demands. It went even to the great length of threatening the dissolution of the union of

the states unless the curse was made national by allowing the slave holder to hold his slave in any state or territory in the nation. And finally, as Thomas Jefferson had prophesied, the firing on Ft. Sumpter, in 1861, came "like a fire bell in the night;" and the great Civil War was the result. Men by the million rushed around the national flag. The stain of human bondage was washed out with the patriotic blood of men who loved liberty more than life.

The mistake of our fathers was corrected. With peace came the right of the black man to own himself, and the white man to discuss unmolested any subject he chose. As the smoke of the conflict cleared away, the black cloud of oppression went with it, and the bright light of universal freedom was the rich heritage of the great struggle. Yea, more and better still. The false construction of the Constitution, robbing the national government of the supreme power that the organic law had invested it with, and giving that authority to the states in order to perpetuate slavery and justify secession, falsely called State rights, ceased with the death of slavery. It gave assurance for all time to come, of the right, as well as the power, and ability to preserve and perpetuate the national life.

The upholders of monarchy and the prophets of evil had proclaimed that our form of government would be disintegrated and destroyed by a civil war—that it was too weak to stand the test of rebellion. This prophesy was begotten of their hopes. Our existence was a perpetual menace to despotism. Our success in this great struggle convinced the world of the solidity and stability of a government in the hands of the governed.

The removal of the cause of constant sectional strife, and the restoration of the supremacy of the constitution, and the destruction of the misnamed doctrine of State rights insured the unification of the States and we became again a Nation with a permanent and solid Union. It settled the question for all time to come that American patriotism would not tolerate rebellion against our national authority. It gave assurance that no more civil wars will come in the future to divide and distract the American people.

The great victory has brought these inestimable blessings to our beloved country. To the world it has shown that majestic power is safer in the hands of the governed; that a republic is not only the best for the masses, but it has more elements of strength and permanency than a—monarchy.

So that from April 1861, to the victory in 1865—four long, anxious years, the Union soldier was not only fighting the great battle to preserve the Union of the States, and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and the sovereignty of the Nation, but he was engaged in a conflict in which was involved the liberty of the human race for all time to come.

The surrender at Appomattox was the commencement of the downfall of despotism everywhere. To prove this let us recall some of the events that have come to pass with other nations since that time. In the

darkest days of our struggle, when the chances of success seemed most doubtful, the Emperor of France sent an army to Mexico, and placed Maximilian on the throne of that distracted country, and held him there with French bayonets. His purpose doubtless was to be ready to gather in and add to his Mexican empire, some of the broken fragments, when secession became a success. But our victory compelled Napoleon to order, in great haste his army back to France. His usurping Emperor was tried, convicted and executed for his crime against the rights of man, and Mexico became a republic. Her people have wisely chosen that greatest of modern statesmen, President Diaz, and now peace and prosperity have come to the Mexicans. No longer the bloody waves of revolution hinder the growth and development of Mexico. The Mexican Republic is the legitimate sequence of our ability to preserve our own.

The declaration of American independence fired the soul of the oppressed people of France and hastened the French revolution, which was the beginning of the overthrow of monarchical rule in France, and of the recognition of the common man.

The maintenance of the Union and the abolition of slavery relit the fires of liberty of the French republicans. They drove Napoleon from France and established a republic which has grown stronger every day in the affectionate support of the French people. Had we failed it is not to be believed that France would have had faith in the permanency of a republic. Put another star in the crown of the American soldier.

It is not an unwarranted conclusion that Don Pedro would not have been driven from the throne of Brazil, had the United States been unable to enforce her own laws and maintain the Union of the States. The manifested strength of our government in war as in peace doubtless led the Brazilians to choose a republic and discard a monarchy.

The very breezes from our own happy land had filled the souls of our Cuban neighbors with a burning and irresistible desire to throw off the yoke of despotism, and excited a manly and determined resistance to the exactions of a despot on the other side of the world. It is not a matter of wonder that there was a constant rebellion against Spain. The barbaric cruelty of the Spaniards became intolerable and shocked the civilized world, and especially excited the sympathy of the American people. Our government demanded that Spain withdraw her armies from Cuba, and give her freedom. Spain defiantly refused and declared war as the answer, and on the call of the President, seven hundred thousand liberty loving Americans at once offered their services to enforce the demand. Spain was severely chastised and gave us Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands to secure peace, and Cuba the youngest of the family of new Republics is enjoying all the blessings of self-government.

Had the war for the Union been a failure and secession a success, we would have been bankrupt, at war with the seceded States, without either army or navy to drive despotism to the other side of the world. Let more and brighter stars be added to the crown of the Union soldier. His fidelity

to his country in the day of trial is constantly widening the area of freedom.

The beautiful Hawaiian Islands have abandoned monarchy and idolatry, and accepted American civilization. This important half-way station to the Philippines floats the stars and stripes and is ours. It is supposed that they would have sought our protection if we had shown our incapacity to preserve the integrity of the Union. The out-going influences of the United States since the Civil war quickens and re-enforces the highest and best aspirations of humanity. Are we not warranted in the belief that before the close of the present century this potent force will remove many more crowns from the heads of despots and place them as curios in the museums of liberated and self governing nations, whose thrones will only be found in the debris with the shackles of slavery, mid the ashes and fagots of intolerance and persecution? Many more millions of the oppressed of the race will stand erect, invested with every natural right, breathing the free air of freedom in their own native land.

There is no power able to arrest the progress of this essential expansion and imperialism—the expansion of human liberty and the imperialism of the common man. Who will be found in the coming future bold enough to uphold that old and disreputable dogma—the divine right of kings—a slander on the very source of equal and impartial justice, and the enemy of unalienable rights of man?

We will leave the question with the ethical philosophers whether the masses are reaching a higher plane of moral conception, and practices, and spiritual development. But that they are rapidly coming to know their political rights cannot be doubted. The constant demands on the ruling powers for, and the reluctant concession of, kingly prerogatives to placate their subjects, and thus prevent revolution is most conclusive proof. Recently the Czar of Russia, yielding to the discontent and demands of the people, has granted rights and privileges hitherto denied, and the recent visit of King Edward to Ireland, and the Irish land bill, are the latest evidence that the voice of the common man is reaching the ear of authority.

Before our civil war our influence for the elevation of man was paralyzed. Our appeal for the enlargement of human rights was futile, while we upheld human bondage, and bought and sold men, women and children as property, but having abolished this incubus to our national life and moral strength, the new century finds us first among the nations of the earth in physical strength and civic excellence.

Fighting the battles for the Cubans, without taking possession of the tempting island, to promote human liberty, is without parallel in the history of nations. The suppression of the rebellion convinced the world that we had an invincible army, and the Spanish war, an unconquerable navy, and our treatment of Cuba, that we are as generous as we are brave.

More than fifty years ago the intelligent and patriotic citizens of the Republic, seeing the time serving and truckling to the slaveocracy with the intolerable domination of public affairs by the existing political parties, determined to submit no longer. Our great historian, George Bancroft, says,

“Truth raises itself in manifest serenity above the strifes of parties ; it acknowledges neither the solitary mind or the separate factor as its oracle ; but owns as its only faithful interpreter the dictates of pure reason, proclaimed by the general voice of mankind.”

The people collectively are wiser than the most gifted individual, for all his wisdom constitutes but a part of theirs. In a recent interview Tolstoi, the great Russian philosopher and philanthropist and friend of the common man, said, “The masses, as I see them, are out for truth, progress, knowledge, deriving their information from life direct, and I tell you. life is a better teacher than the whole output of books ever conceived by genius or plodding mind.”

With us the sources of civic information are so abundant and accessible to the citizen, no danger can come to the State which cannot be averted by his intelligence, and innate sense of justice and fair play. The statesman who keeps his ear open to the voices which come from the homes of the people, from the farm, the workshop, and the busy marts of trade, is the best equipped to serve his constituency, and promote the public welfare. “Vox Populi, Vox Die” is not simply a euphonic phrase, and meaningless maxim. It contains a great fundamental fact. The cottages of the common man are congenial abiding places for Divinity. In the struggles of his life, human needs suggests, and human love commands, a betterment of human conditions. All real reforms must come from the common people. Wrongs, long suffered, will be met with the best, and most effective remedies from the collective experience and wisdom of the masses. The time and mode of applying the remedy must be fixed by them. Without their united and hearty approval it will be a failure. Political parties to accomplish results must come from the needs and demands of the people themselves. Those created by scheming politicians will not attract the masses, although they assume the name of Democracy, or Socialist, or Populist.

However intense may be the opposition to intemperance, and the deplorable evils attending it, and the earnest desire of every lover of his race to suppress the traffic in ardent spirits, no Prohibition party can succeed until the public mind has declared itself ready to try that remedy. The universal diffusion of intelligence will not allow a political party to live and have control of public affairs, merely on its antiquity, its high sounding name or its past achievements. These only control the ignorant and partisan minority. The majority are practical, and for “the survival of the fittest” only. At the great crisis in our history they demanded a party to resist the domination of a pro-slavery oligarchy which was controlling the legislation of the country for the promotion of their own interests, and perverting the object and purpose of our free institutions, by violating the spirit as well as the letter of the constitution. They organized the Republican party. It was not a creation of political schemers seeking an issue to carry an election. It was not organized of men disappointed in their failure to receive recognition in the parties to which they had belonged. It

was not begotten in lust for power and patronage. It came from the awakened conscience of the nation, and is the legitimate heir of the only sovereign we recognize—the common people. Its slogan has ever been the clear and comprehensive statement of Abraham Lincoln, “A government of the people, by the people and for the people.”

At the mention of the name of Lincoln, patriotism, philanthropy, integrity, courage, charity and every other good angel lays a fresh flower on his tomb. After a thorough organization of the Republicans the senseless prejudice against an anti-slavery party had cleared away by the educational campaign of 1856, the people in spite of the politicians nominated him as their leader and in 1860 placed him at the helm of State. In the storm of the great civil war that followed he took the people into his confidence and looked more to them for help than great statesmanship in Congress or great generals on the field of battle.

The Republican party was united to a man in sustaining the President, and in suppressing the rebellion against the national authority. Countless patriotic men from other political organizations, men who loved country more than party, stood with the Republicans and the President, and gave their lives on the field of battle. But let it not be forgotten that the Republican party was the only party, as a party, which voiced the patriotic sentiment of the people and declared for the Union and denounced secession. In this crisis, had the Republicans faltered in courage and unity, the flag of the Union would have gone down in defeat and dishonor and despotism and slavery would have rioted over the prostrate form of human liberty. The nation will not forget while basking in the sunlight of our present glory and prosperity the source from whence they came.

The Republican party will have the confidence and support of the people so long as the party makes the promotion of the public welfare its supreme purpose. Close and thorough organization of the party is essential to its success and to the welfare of the country, and cannot be too strongly commended. Machine politics for the sole purpose of securing position and patronage to the members of the machine cannot be too strongly condemned. The people are jealous of their rights. They will not suffer political rings and snap-conventions to have control. They will not delegate their power to choose their public servants to scheming and selfish politicians.

The honest masses will not long sustain their party, unless they are recognized as its controlling factor. When left to themselves they are not often mistaken in their estimate of men. At the primary they will choose the men who will best conserve the public interest. The ludicrous spectacle of small men in great positions, is generally the result of machine manipulation. This is the only visible danger now threatening the perpetuity of the Republican party.

The well known and familiar history of the party discloses its fidelity to the best interests of the nation. After preserving the Union of the States, restoring the national authority and abolishing slavery, it

opened the public lands, and gave a homestead to the actual settler without money and without price. For this, the people had clamored in vain for years. The slave power foresaw that such a policy would rapidly increase the number of free States and forbade it. The other political parties then in control, always subservient to the demands of the slaveholder, yielded to the demand of their master,

The congested populations of our towns and cities went westward to our fertile plains and beautiful valleys, and following them soon came the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, the church, the school house and all the attendants of civilized society. State after State, built up and organized by these brave, sturdy and intelligent pioneers, many of whom had been soldiers for the Union in the civil war, came in and took their place in the family of States, with a newer zeal and a broader conception of human rights. It seems fit and proper that the party which preserved the Union and abolished slavery, should make the Homestead law the first star in its crown of beneficent legislation for a free and redeemed people.

Let me call your attention to another great evil which was promptly corrected when the power was placed in the hands of the Republicans. The paper currency was issued by all manner of banks and with the most of them there was no security to the holder of their bills. The issues of the best of them were at a discount when distant from the place of issue, and the bills of the most of them became worthless in the hands of the unfortunate holders. It was a system in the main of legalized robbery. All that was swept away, and a currency issued for which the Government became the guarantor for every dollar issued. The money given the country by the Republicans goes without discount everywhere not only in this country, but is par the world over wherever civilization has gone. The heartless dealers in depreciated bank notes, and the publishers of the daily detectors of their varying values, were industries that ceased to exist, and disappeared with the wretched system that made them a participant in human affairs. The free trade theories of the South had broken down the manufacturing interests of the Nation, and the United States were becoming poorer, and England, Germany and the other manufacturing nations were becoming richer by selling their goods in our own market at their own price.

The protective tariff of the Republicans removed this great wrong to the people and the government, and under its wise provisions, goods of all kinds, of our own manufacture, equal in quality, have become cheaper, living wages are paid to our own workingmen, and we have become one of the great manufacturing nations. Our goods may be found in every port, and our flag in every harbor, while the world is looking on with admiration and astonishment at the wonderful progress and rapid accumulation of wealth of the United States of America. The national debt had added up to the billions, to faint hearts it was appalling. The Republicans would listen to no scheme of even partial repudiation, but proclaimed that it must be honestly paid dollar for dollar. They would not assent to the cheapening

of the currency, by the specious project of the free and unlimited coinage of silver. Our revenue system has reduced the great national debt to where it is no longer a matter of concern, while at the same time we have paid hundreds of millions in pensions to the brave men and their survivors who saved the Union.

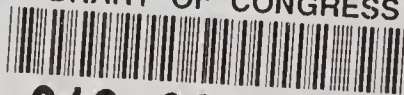
Our national credit is without a peer in the world of finance. Our two per cent. bonds command eight per cent. premium in the money markets of the world. To the borrower of money, the rate of interest has been reduced one half as the result of Republican legislation. No more need be said to establish the deep interest of the Republican party in the welfare of the common man. Herein is its strength. It will be unconquerable in the future, as in the past, if it continues to make the public welfare its supreme aim and purpose. As a nation we have become so great and powerful that no other power dare offend us. Our progress, prosperity and peace is the triumph of the policies, principles, and patriotism of the Republican party.

Its policy brings forward the highest type of citizenship in times of peace, and the bravest soldiery in war, and thus continually commends our free institutions and human liberty to the other nations.

Let the sentiment of one of our best poets be ours:

“Is this the land our fathers loved,
The freedom which they fought to win?
Is this the soil they trod upon?
Are these the graves they slumber in?
Are we their sons by whom have borne
The mantels which the dead have worn?
And shall we crouch above their graves
With craven soul and fettered lip
Yoked in with marked and branded slaves
And tremble at a master's whip?
By their enlarging souls, which burst
The bands and fetters round them set
By the free pilgrim spirit nursed
Within our utmost bosoms yet,
By all around, above, below,
The hours the eternal answer! No!”

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